1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

European dress was
ever more generally adopted in the larger towns, and spread significantly to urbanized tribesmen. Among upper-class women, though the veil was still almost universal among Muslims, Western clothing was worn increasingly. The desire for material progress was reflected in the eagerness of the rich to acquire motor-cars, gramophones, and the toys and amenities of Europe; but inability to pay for these gave rise to demands for limitless credit.

Interest at the International Labour Office in conditions among 'Iraq's industrial workers led to some answering efforts to produce suitable legislation; but the smallness of this class in an unindustrialized country made European criteria and standards largely inapplicable. The first seeds were sown, however, of a social interest in labour matters.

To the whole community and to urban society in particular with its still prevalent poverty and low purchasing power the Government's Health and Education services contributed valuably. The former improved its quarantine and pilgrim services, multiplied its countryside dispensaries, improved its specialist institutes, and dealt well with the cholera epidemics of 1927 and 1931. It was significant that out-patient attendances, less than 750,000 in 1921, had more than doubled by 1926 and quadrupled by 1930. In response to foreign purchasers' outcry, the Health Department imposed measures of cleanliness in the date industry. In 1927 it founded the Royal Medical College; this, a medical school of good standards, took at once a high place in 'Iraq's higher and professional education. A School of Pharmacy had existed since 1922. The Government adhered during these years to a number of international conventions on medical as on many other matters.

The 'Iraqi schools seemed to foreign observers at this period—and indeed at others—to lack something of the best spirit of education. There was criticism of lax discipline, uncritical self-flattery, a worship of modernity and materialism; politics pervaded too many of the schools, always in the form of a crude xenophobia eager for street demonstrations. Nevertheless, an educational system grew and multiplied its facilities, fought for budget allotments, developed an Inspectorate, codified its Regulations. A Hygiene Directorate was formed in the Education Ministry, later greatly to develop. The year 1930 saw the first Government secondary schools for girls; the days of Muslim hesitation over female education were almost over. For boys the secondary period was prolonged from four to five years, three 'intermediate' and two 'senior'. The dispatch of students for higher education abroad grew commoner. Technical education remained unpopular: it did not lead quickly enough to the goal chiefly envisaged, a Govern-

8:Campbell T-5 (no date) 1949 MH1 Iraq MH1

would know the difference.' They went on to point out large numbers of sheep dotted around the horizon and they explained that had there been a large number of camels with a few sheep, then bedouin would have been indicated. Instead there was a large number of sheep with a few camels, indicating Arabs. They had to go on to explain that by Arabs they meant the great landowning Shia tribes, who are in the main cultivators of rice, dates, barley and a variety of other crops, but they send out their sheep on long treks through the desert in charge of some of their families in search of grass.

Most of the Arab tribes are dwellers in houses or clean, cool huts made of reed matting, which allows for a constant current of air through the hut, and prevents the temperature from rising to that of an oven in the hot sun, like a house. Many of these stories were told in a large guest house or tent pitched amongst the houses, with a background of sound varying from that of the cooking of a meal of several roast sheep to the powerful thump, thump, thump, of the great pumps. These pumps deserve mention, since they are often a tribe's principal pride and source of wealth. At one place I was surprised to hear that a boy's name was Rustam, since this name is more common amongst Persians and Kurds than amongst Arabs, but it was explained to me that he was named after the pump, and I understood when I saw the name Rustom stamped on an iron plate on the great cylinder.

The Arab tribes have a great military history of which they are justly proud. It is long and somewhat complicated, and to give in full the history of a single tribe as told by the sheikhs would fill a book greater in size than this. I will, however, give a précis of the history of that great group of tribes which were known as the Muntafiq.

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She took off her clothes and put them on the bank, and she stepped into the river. Now, be it known to you that, though she could see him not, there was concealed on the bank a youth of the Fetla tribes, and his name was Kadhim. He did not own a single horse or mare, nor did he even own the leg of a mare. He owned no sheep and he owned no land, and he lived by eating at the guest tent of his sheikh. And as for clothes, he used to go to the river and set snares for the sandgrouse and partridges when they came to drink, and sell them in the market to buy cloth. And Kadhim was concealed on the bank of the river watching his snares when he saw a girl beautiful as a moon come to the river and divest herself of her clothes. He saw that she was perfect in figure, for her neck was slender and her shoulders smooth and soft and her breasts rose firmly and clearly as do the desert dunes in moonlight. As for her waist it was slender and her thighs were round and smooth and around her navel was tattooed a butterfly. And he watched her and forgot the sandgrouse and he forgot the partridges. And after she had bathed in the river she dried herself by lying in the sun. Then she put on her clothes and filled the jar with water and returned to the town.

And the next day at the rising of the sun Kadhim concealed himself in the same place and awaited the coming of the girl. And about half an hour after dawn she came down and drew water from that very same place. And Kadhim, who was concealed in the tamarisk bushes, watched her, but she did not take off her clothes. She merely filled the pot with water and put it on her shoulder, and she turned and returned to the town. But Kadhim, who was a youth in the seventeenth year of his life and swift of foot, ran ahead behind the fruit groves and date trees and came out on the path ahead of her, and when

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he saw that he was truly from the tribes, for his bearing was proud and his gaze the gaze of the peregrine falcon. So he said: Take the money and the cloth and give me your pledge. Then Kadhim's cheeks flushed red, for he had forgotten to bring a pledge with him, nor did he own a ring, and he had no headcloth and he owned no riding switch, for he had no horse. But his brain was quick and he thought and answered: Verily a man's honour is contained in the hair of his moustache, for it is his moustache that distinguishes his face from that of a woman or a boy. Therefore I shall give you one hair of my moustache as a pledge. And Abdul Rashid Mejid was astonished at the words of the youth.

Then Kadhim called for scissors and for a mirror, and he studied his face in the mirror and searched for a hair in his moustache which was less beautiful than the rest. And he found such a hair and snipped it off and gave it to Abdul Rashid Mejid. And Abdul Rashid Mejid took the hair and put it with the pledges, and he put it in a box with the rings and the headcloths and riding switches, and he gave Kadhim five gold liras and a roll of cloth.

Kadhim took the money and the cloth and he went to the shop of a tailor whom he knew and trusted, for the man's father was from the Fetla tribes. He said to the tailor: Take this cloth and this money and make me the clothes of a very rich merchant, and bring me a beard of sheep's wool which I will fasten to my face, and keep this a secret, for it is more important to me than life itself. And the tailor said: Cut my head to keep the secret. Then the tailor made for Kadhim the clothes of a wealthy merchant and he brought for him a beard of sheep's wool, and when Kadhim had put on the beard and put on the clothes he looked so important and distinguished that anyone who

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saw him would say: This is a merchant whose shop is worth ten thousand gold liras.

Kadhim, dressed as a wealthy merchant, went out from the shop of the tailor and he returned to the shop of Abdul Rashid Mejid. He entered the shop and greeted Abdul Rashid Mejid and wished him the peace of God. And Abdul Rashid Mejid rose when he saw the wealthy merchant enter his shop, and he returned his greeting, and he ordered the shop boy to bring a glass of tea from the coffee house for the distinguished visitor. And Kadhim sat in the chair which Abdul Rashid Mejid placed for him.

Now, Kadhim, though a simple tribal boy, had travelled as far as Basra with the Sheikh, for in ancient times when the Sheikh travelled to Baghdad or to Basra he took fifty men in his retinue, that all who saw him might recognise his dignity and position and, as Kadhim had no land and no sheep, he used to accompany the Sheikh and eat at his expense in the hotels of Basra. So he had some knowledge of affairs.

Kadhim drank the glass of tea in the shop of Abdul Rashid Mejid and he asked after the health of his host. He said: Know you that I am a merchant of Basra and my trade is a general trade, and I deal in every article and every commodity, for my firm is a great firm with branches in India and in Persia and in Nejd. And let it be known to you that I have come to Hilla to seek a merchant of honesty and repute to act as my agent that I may transact various kinds of business at this place. So I asked from the great merchants and bankers of Baghdad that they give me the names of those merchants at Hilla who are reliable in their dealings, and they told me the name of your honour and of his honour our brother Abbas Ali el Qassab. But they said of the last named that water drips from his

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1. THE STORY OF HAJJI ALI, THE GREAT SULTAN AND HIS SON, THE AMIR KHEYYUN

The Maadan. Page 12, Line 17. 'The Maadan shall bring milk.'

The Maadan are in the main a tribe of poor families, living in scattered communities on the shores of that great area of marsh and lake which lies between the Tigris and the Euphrates before the two rivers finally join to form the Shatt el Arab. Maadan villages often acknowledge the authority of sheikhs of neighbouring tribes, and they have no great tradition of their own. Their chief source of wealth was in the past their large herds of water buffaloes, their income being derived from the sale of milk and its products, lebn (a kind of curd), and clarified cooking butter. The sale of milk is regarded as shameful by most tribes, though of course all produce enough for their own requirements. In consequence the Maadan, with their trade in milk and hides, are looked down on by the tribes, and they are said to be lacking in honour. However in the last twenty-five years the Maadan have acquired large areas of agricultural land, and they are sharing fully in the increasing wealth of South Iraq. As for their honour, I remember a fight three years ago which took place between two Maadan subsections not far from Qarmat Ali, just outside Basra. This was a fight for a woman's honour in the best tribal tradition in which nothing was lacking either in the number of rounds of ammunition expended or in the casualties to bring it fully up to the standard of the great tribes in these matters.

2. A STORY CONCERNING THE IGNORANCE OF SLAVES

Slaves.

'Abd, or slave, is a slang expression in South Iraq for a Negro, and does not now indicate an actual slave. Slavery continued in Iraq to the end of Ottoman rule, 83 years after its abolition in the British Empire. In this story, therefore, the word would refer to actual slaves, and I have so translated it. The word 'habshi' (lit. 'Abyssinian') is little used in South Iraq, a Negro being referred to as a 'sambo' or 'abd'.

Crocodile. Page 20, Line 3. 'In that river was a crocodile.'

The word used was 'timsah', or crocodile, of which of course there are none in Iraq. I do not know if this indicates that this story

25: Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East

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tribal organization there was no clear definition of individual rights of ownership to the collectively-owned land. It was a system which could exist as long as no one thought about it; as long, that is, as the tribe was accepted as the unit of political life, and as long as no individual claims were likely to be made. It is for this reason that it is impossible, once the tribal system has ceased to be the political unit, to settle land on a tribal basis; and yet to settle land on the basis of the supposed individual claims creates grave injustice, because in practice it means that too much land is allotted to the sheikhs and that the cultivators are reduced to the position of tenants or labourers.

Since the early years of the twentieth century the tribal system has been breaking up, and the economic development of the country in the twenty years between the wars has hastened its disintegration. When water transport came to the Persian Gulf towards the end of the nineteenth century, export markets opened for Iraq grain; the subsistence economy broke down and production for export began. Exports of grain increased from 65,000 tons in the early eighteen-nineties to 120,000 tons in 1909–13, and to 380,000 tons in 1934–9. The profitability of export has given the tribal chiefs a motive for acquiring land as their personal property.

The tendency to acquire land for the sake of money income was much strengthened, in the twenty years between the two wars, by the rapid extension of pump irrigation and the accompanying increase in the cultivated area. Pump installations have increased from 143 in 1921 to 3,000 in 1944, and provide water for some 2½ million acres of land, or over half the cultivated land in the irrigated zone. The installation of a pumping system is comparatively cheap, costing some £2,000 before the recent war, but it is far beyond the means of the peasants, so that pumps have been installed by sheikhs, or more frequently by city notables, who make contracts to supply them to peasants at extortionate rates of interest, and so gradually acquire the land in payment of debt. In many cases the sub-chiefs, or sirkals, have become pump owners.

Thus in the regions of pump irrigation the tribal system has entirely ceased to function. The land is mainly the property of the pump owners, with the cultivators taking a meagre share of the crop, varying from one-seventh to one-fourteenth or one-